

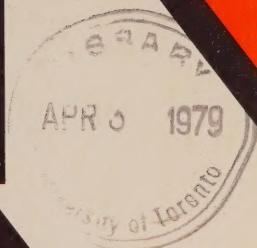
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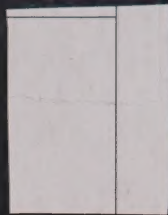


AYISYIN NAN KANADA



Minister of State
Multiculturalism

Ministre d'État
Multiculturalisme



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AYISYIN NAN KANADA

September 1977

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Jacqueline Jean-Baptiste

Preface

In an effort to promote a better understanding of ethno-cultural groups in Canada the Multiculturalism Program has commissioned a number of short studies on little-known and recent immigrant groups. The Program receives frequent requests from scholars and the general public for information on specific ethno-cultural groups which cannot be obtained elsewhere. These studies are designed to meet this need and provide basic factual information which can be used for more detailed and analytical studies.

Since there is a serious shortage of secondary sources on these groups much of the research was conducted by knowledgeable persons from within the respective communities. For this reason the studies tend to be subjective in nature and descriptive in content. This approach, however, allows the presentation of information and perspectives which are unique to each group.

A short bibliography is included at the end of the booklet for those who are interested in pursuing the study of this group in more detail.

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PART 1

Arrival and settlement

Introduction

Discovered by Christopher Columbus December 5, 1492, Haiti is in the Caribbean Sea, about 3,615 kilometers almost due south of Montreal. It is among the poorest countries in the western hemisphere. Indeed, Haiti has experienced colonization in its most brutal form, slavery, and in the most subtle form practised by the wealthy nations of the modern world. First colonized by the Spanish, the territory was ceded to France in 1698. As a French colony, Haiti won political independence January 1, 1804. From 1915 to 1934, however, Haiti was occupied by the Americans.

Seizure of political power by the Haitians was, in most cases, the result of struggles between social classes within the country and presented an opportunity to gain personal prestige and a fortune for the person's immediate family.

With a surface area of 27,750 square kilometers, the country has a population of some 5.2 million, a gross national product of \$640 million and a per capita revenue of \$115 per year.¹

The Haitian population speaks Creole and is racially mixed (90%) with Blacks. However, since French is the official language, all official business is in French. Therefore, educated Haitians, about 20% of the total population,² speak French quite well. In short, Haiti is a French-speaking country.

Haiti has at its disposal for health care 0.7 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants and one hospital bed per 1,250 inhabitants; for educational purposes, three teachers per 10,000 inhabitants. The country depends for its survival on agriculture which engages 80% of the working population.³

1 Population and per capita revenue data obtained from CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency), Ottawa, 1977

2 *World's Table* published by the World Bank, 1976.

3 Girard C., "Nouvelles données sur l'économie haïtienne (New data on the Haitian economy)" in: *Notes et études documentaires (Notes and Studies)*, No. 4190-91. French documentation, Paris, May 1975, p. 41.

Haitian emigration

Haitian emigration may first be considered as an important consequence of the slow process of deterioration in the Haitian economy and secondly as a major factor in the country's social and economic regression.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, part of the rural population began to emigrate during the season of the "Safrá" (sugarcane harvest) to neighbouring countries such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic. The migration is seasonal since, as soon as the season is over, the workers return to the fold. In the long run, however, a number of these workers choose to reside permanently in these other countries. In the Dominican Republic these migrants posed socio-economic problems of such magnitude that, as a result, about 12,000 of them were massacred in October 1937.¹

By the fifties other segments of the population caught this migratory fever and departed for and settled in, among other slightly more distant Caribbean islands, the Bahamas (Nassau), Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Aruba, and Curaçao. This work force is now made up of unskilled laborers and artisans constantly seeking to make a living as domestics, chambermaids and waiters.

Immigration to Canada

Until the fifties immigrants came mainly from the most deprived and least privileged segments of the Haitian population. Literacy was not a condition of inclusion. However, some Haitians sent their children to European universities and these children became symbols of the family's pride and self-respect. Some Haitians also went to the United States for business reasons or in search of jobs which, relatively speaking, offered attractive prospects. Borders were crossed on foot, in boats and by plane. During the forties Canadian missionaries arrived in Haiti, founded schools and seminaries, and encouraged young Haitians pursuing a religious vocation to continue their theological studies in Canada, more particularly, in the Province of Quebec.

1 Price Mars, Jean, Dr., *La République d'Haiti et la République Dominicaine*, (*The Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic*). Tome II, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 1953, pp. 309-334

From these missionaries the students learned that it was possible to study in Canada as well as in Europe.

Beginning in the sixties onward two parallel situations existed, one in Haiti, the other in the Province of Quebec, which allowed a new type of Haitian immigration into Canada.

Conditions in Haiti

In the early sixties the situation in Haiti could be described as "disagreeable". The country was becoming increasingly difficult to live in because the government at the time, to consolidate its power, practised a policy of "hunting down its opponents" in order to remove every vestige of political opposition. A number of educated Haitians swelled the ranks of political exiles, and attempted from time to time to overthrow the political regime or at least to destabilize it. With the traditional opposition eliminated, a more dangerous "leftist" element declared itself by means of large scale operations.¹

In April 1969, a law was passed by which any individual considered a communist would be immediately executed without questioning. The officials charged with the enforcement of this law were seldom literate. This often resulted in sad and ridiculous situations where devout Christians found themselves imprisoned in Fort-Dimanche² simply because they handled voluminous editions of the Bible. "The imported ideology" was spread through the minds of the population by "thick books".

The result was a climate of collective insecurity within the heart of the civilian population. Moreover, young university graduates had no hope of finding employment and leaving the country became synonymous with progress and success. In short, everybody wanted to leave.

1 Bombings, killings, etc. . .

2 Fort-Dimanche is a prison just outside Port-au-Prince, notorious for its torture of prisoners.

Conditions in Quebec

In Canada where Quebec, with its "quiet revolution," was in need of assistance: educational reform was being implemented, the construction of Manic V was well under way, the Montreal subway, Expo, textile and petrochemical industries were being developed. Population growth had continued to lose importance in the maintenance of the traditional linguistic equilibrium of the province.²

Haitians wanted to leave and Canada, particularly Quebec, needed manpower. Haitians were, therefore, welcome.

Opportunities for leaving Haiti

An understanding between Canada and Haiti had been in existence for some time. According to that agreement, Canadians are permitted to enter Haiti as tourists without a visa. Haitians also may enter Canada without a visa provided they are in good health and are in possession of adequate funds, to which the following correspondence between a deputy minister for Canadian External Affairs and the Haitian Consul General in Canada will attest:

Ottawa, April 22nd, 1948.

Sir,

I have received your Note No. 15 of March 19th, 1948, concerning the abolition of visa formalities for Canadian tourists wishing to visit Haiti and your enquiry as to the Canadian Government granting reciprocal privileges for citizens of Haiti wishing to enter Canada as tourists.

I am pleased to inform you that under present Canadian Immigration Regulations citizens of Haiti do not require visas for entry into Canada as tourists or visitors. On presenting themselves at the Canadian Border, citizens of Haiti possessing valid national passports, who satisfy the Immigration Inspector that they are bona fide tourists and are in good health and in possession of adequate funds, are admissible to Canada as visitors.

1 Immigration Policy Perspectives; Green Paper, No. 1, p. 15, Ottawa, 1975

However, as the usual route of travel from Haiti to Canada is through the United States of America, and since the United States Government requires evidence of admissibility to the country of final destination before a United States transit visa can be issued, in practice it is usually necessary for a tourist from Haiti entering Canada from United States, to secure a Canadian visa before he can be granted the necessary United States transit visa.

Furthermore, the new provisions of the 1967 regulations of the Canadian Department of Immigration:

- a. eliminated all differential treatment due to race or nationality, for all categories of immigrants.
- b. considered as criteria for admission of independent immigrants not only education and skills, but other factors as well such as age and knowledge of French or English.
- c. required sponsorship only of dependent relatives.
- d. authorized visitors to present a request for permanent residence made from a Canadian territory.¹

These provisions for entering Canada would have unforeseen consequences.

Evolution of Haitian immigration to Canada

Haitian immigration to Canada may be divided into two successive waves, the first from 1967 to 1972, and the second begun in 1972.

The first wave was made up largely of professionals and service employees responding to the doctrine of a Canadian immigration minister who said in 1955: "We try to select as immigrants those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves to Canadian life and to contribute to the development of the Canadian nation."²

From 1972 on Haitian immigration to Canada rose dramatically. Skilled, semiskilled, unskilled workers and artisans arrived in the hope of settling and finding a quiet place to work and earn a living.

1 The Immigration Program. Green paper, Ottawa, 1974, pp. 38-39.

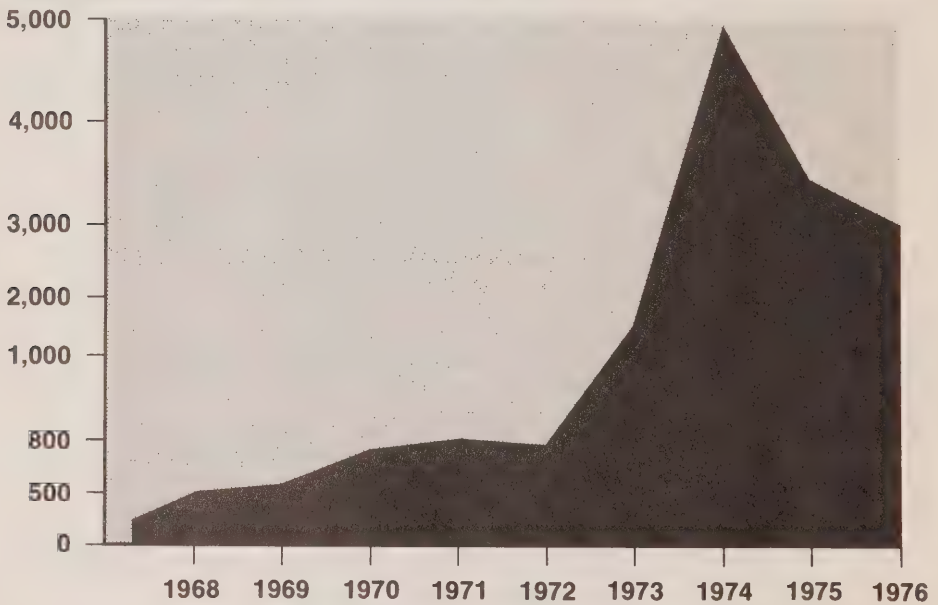
2 House of Commons Debates, 1955. Quoted by A. Richmond in: Aspects of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants. Green Paper, Ottawa, 1974, p. 15.

From 1963 to 1967, 525 Haitians¹ left their country to take up residence in Canada. This number has been on the increase ever since (Table 1).

Some Haitians who studied in Europe, and worked in Africa, also entered Canada during the same period and thus increased the total number of Haitians entering Canada.

Figure 1

Evolution of Haitian immigration to Canada 1968-1976



¹ Govt. of Canada, Manpower and Immigration

Table 1*Haitian immigrants coming directly from Haiti*

Calendar year	Quebec	Total in Canada
1968	415	444
1969	510	550
1970	794	840
1971	936	989
1972	884	936
1973	2,109	2,178
1974	4,690	4,857
1975	3,308	3,431
1976	2,966	3,061
Total	16,612*	17,286**

Source: *Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

**Govt. of Canada, Manpower and Immigration

Table 2*Total number of Haitians entering Canada*

Calendar year	Quebec	Total in Canada†
1968	563	††
1969	650	
1970	917	
1971	1,052	
1972	999	1,056
1973	2,252	2,336
1974	4,853	5,035
1975	3,411	3,533
1976	3,073	3,172
Total	17,770†††	

†Govt. of Canada, Manpower and Immigration

††Not available, listed elsewhere

†††Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 3
*Immigrants of Haitian nationality
 speaking French only*

Calendar year	French only	Out of a total of
1969	408	650
1970	552	917
1971	602	1,052
1972	659	999
1973	1,942	2,252
1974	4,555	4,853
1975	3,206	3,411
1976	2,827	3,073

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 4
*Immigrants of Haitian nationality with
 knowledge of French and English*

Calendar year	French and English	Out of a total of
1969	195	650
1970	282	917
1971	294	1,052
1972	273	999
1973	250	2,252
1974	269	4,853
1975	132	3,411
1976	144	3,073

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 5

*Immigrants of Haitian nationality
speaking only English*

Calendar year	English only	Out of a total of
1969	30	650
1970	66	917
1971	135	1,052
1972	57	999
1973	51	2,252
1974	19	4,853
1975	22	3,411
1976	8	3,073

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 6

*Immigrants of Haitian nationality
speaking neither French nor English*

Calendar year	Neither French nor English	Out of a total of
1969	17	650
1970	17	917
1971	21	1,052
1972	10	999
1973	9	2,252
1974	10	4,853
1975	51	3,411
1976	94	3,073

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Formation of the Haitian community in Canada

Until 1967, the Haitian community numbered only a few hundred persons, made up for the most part of qualified professionals working in health services, education and the social services in general. Their number included some students, mostly in medical sciences and religious disciplines, and some voluntary political exiles. These came from privileged segments of Haitian society whose intentions were to return to Haiti once their studies were completed. Meanwhile, information was circulating to the effect that it would be possible to pursue university studies in Canada and particularly in Quebec. The State University of Haiti found itself unable to accommodate hundreds of secondary school graduates; a very small percentage were accepted through the influence of a relative or close friend. As for the rest, the problem was solved by sending students to universities in Europe and, increasingly, to universities in Canada. Quite naturally, those students whose parents lived in the United States preferred being a few hundred kilometers away by car, in Canada.

Professionals in the health field, such as doctors, nurses, lab technicians, came to Canada directly from Haiti or from European universities.¹ Teachers and scholarship students from the Haitian-American Institute or the French Institute of Haiti came to Canada after completion of their studies instead of returning home. They encountered, in general, the usual problems of any professional applicant wishing to immigrate into Canada, such as equivalent qualifications, admission to professional bodies, admission into the labour market, and retraining programs. These Haitian pioneers on Canadian soil, generally, had only to confront situations inherent in the quality of the life which they had just discovered. Housing, employment, and their acceptance which was only out of curiosity, did not present insurmountable difficulties.

1 As early as 1962, Dr. J.S. Thompson, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Alberta, "estimated that 35% of doctors applying to practice in Canada had graduated abroad. Demands will increase in the future and it is not possible to draw solely on Canadian sources for the satisfaction of these demands". Quoted in: Porter, J., *The Vertical Mosaic*, University of Toronto Press, p. 48.

From a psychological viewpoint, many of these migrants were in Canada in a state of waiting, hoping for an improvement in the political climate of their country in order to return permanently. Hospitals easily accepted doctors, who at the time were being sporadically employed. However, to be able to pass an examination in their specialty in order to practise, it was necessary to obtain Canadian citizenship. Since these candidates had not yet considered becoming Canadian citizens, they chose a long wait instead.

The first wave of Haitian immigration to Canada

From 1963 to 1967, 525 Haitians chose to reside in Canada. In 1968, 444 more arrived, a sharp increase of 84.57% relative to those already settled. From 1968 to 1971, the increase stabilized above 100%, that is, 123.8% in 1969, 152.72% in 1970, and 117.7% in 1971; and slipped in 1972 to 94.64%, for a total of 3,759 persons. Of these, 3,539 or 94.1% settled in Quebec; the rest dispersed elsewhere, for the most part to the Ontario side of the Ottawa Valley. Of these 3,759 Haitian immigrants, 71.58% were independent if considered in relation to the admission categories of immigration regulations, which leads one to think that even sponsored (i.e. children) and designated immigrants had a lifestyle easily adaptable to Canadian society.

Reasons for the sudden increase in immigrants

In 1960, with the accession to independence of numerous African states, many Haitians went to Africa to assist in the training of administrative personnel. With the placing of positions in the former Belgian Congo under African management these Haitians returned to Canada. At the same time, American immigration laws evolved in such a way as to make immigration to the United States practically impossible. The problem was made more serious with the passing of a law in Haiti of an anti-communist nature April 28, 1969. This constitutes the basis of the exodus of Haitians into Canada.

At this point the difficulties of integrating into the labour market became clearer. The positive results of the quiet revolution and the economic resurgence, which was only a result of such large projects as Expo, the

subway and Manic, diminished rapidly. No more teaching permits were issued by the Quebec Department of Education. The unavailability of teaching positions in Quebec already posed enormous problems for Haitian immigration during this time. Indeed, university graduates able to teach with a temporary permit were obliged to perfect their skills in pedagogy and other teaching methods according to the situation. Many lawyers, doctors and engineers took up teaching while awaiting admission into their respective professional bodies. The Quebec Department of Social Affairs introduced various reforms with resulting modifications. Although the situation is improving, those concerned feel that there are great difficulties in being admitted to a professional body. A certain quota is accepted yearly as a function of the needs of the country which is calling for fewer and fewer foreigners. Moreover, difficulties encountered by doctors who continue to come to Canada are on the increase. Some, while in Canada, were accepted by the American Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates and left for the United States.

Certain professional organizations, such as the Association of Dentists, are practically closed to foreigners. They claim that it would take more than a simple retraining programme to teach foreign dentists to operate Canada's more sophisticated equipment. Still it seems that an association would seek a solution, since any dentist would accept another three years of professional study rather than start elsewhere with no clear prospects. These situations are quite upsetting. Agricultural and engineering associations accept only a very small number of foreign professionals. Those Haitians who are applicants in these fields encounter such difficulty that they often resign themselves, abandon their profession, and start from the bottom in some other discipline, while they hope for better days and earn their living in factories.

A great many unskilled workers, whose numbers have increased considerably, find employment in factories,

mostly in textiles, in footwear and in packing, where salaries are lowest. Somehow, at least, they manage to find jobs. During this period the number of Haitian students in the various Quebec colleges and universities has also increased, for example, in the University of Montreal, the University of Quebec in Montreal, the University of Sherbrooke, and even McGill University.

The adaptation of this wave of Haitian immigrants — in spite of the housing crisis and a newly restricted labour market, where bilingualism and Canadian experience were required in and out of season — presented thornier problems than those which confronted the first arrivals. Positions or professions requiring Canadian citizenship presented serious problems since, basically, emigration was not a deliberate choice on the part of the Haitian. Haitian immigration is an immigration of circumstance; a collective immigration that resembles traditional immigration.

To take out Canadian citizenship signifies for the Haitian a turning away from his homeland which actually has more need of him than the welcoming country. This is the major problem for all Haitians of the first wave who are in danger of losing their jobs if they do not obtain Canadian citizenship.

The second influx or wave

As pointed out above, Haitians enjoyed facilities for entering Canada and could apply for a permanent residence visa once in Canada according to a 1967 regulation of the Immigration Act.

While not in the spirit of the regulation, many persons from many countries, among them a great number of Haitians, entered Canada by means of this expedient, and settled. This influx of "mala fide tourists" posed serious problems. Some did not meet the selection requirements of the Department of Immigration and were deported.

The Canadian Immigration minister at the time, Bryce Mackasey, issued an order revoking the right to claim landed immigrant status. A committee was set up to seek out "mala fide" visitors and refuse them entry at the airport. The number of Haitians visiting Canada

increased at an alarming rate, as they raced to see who could enter Canada before the implementation of the law. Haitians who had already obtained immigrant status attempted to bring in their wives, husbands, fiancés, sisters, brothers, and others. Legal family relationships were made with anyone, so strong was their desire to come to Canada. Some travel agencies from the country of origin gave out distorted information on the order of November 3, 1972. Applicants for immigration into Canada made enormous sacrifices, nothing was overlooked in order to win the race against time. Rightly or wrongly, political exiles were created, and finally all kinds of fraudulent techniques, inspired by the corrupt institutions of the country of origin, were used to get the better of immigration officers at Dorval, Toronto, or at immigration offices in Montreal. The authenticity of papers specifying qualifications was questioned.

On June 18, 1973, Bill C-197 (Act to Amend the Immigration Appeal Board Act) was given first reading in the House of Commons at Ottawa. The minister of Manpower and Immigration, Robert Andras, in this bill offered all those who were not landed immigrants but who had been living in Canada since November 30, 1972, the opportunity to apply for landed immigrant status provided they did so within 60 days of the passing of the bill. Applicants whose applications were refused still had the right to appeal. Those not taking advantage of this opportunity to clarify their status would lose this last chance to apply for a permanent resident visa and, subsequently, all right of appeal. The date, November 30, 1972, took into account persons en route to Canada during the announcement of November 3, 1972. On July 31, 1973, Mr. Andras announced that:

... persons having entered Canada as tourists or illegally on or before November 30, 1972 have until midnight October 15, 1973 to apply for a landed immigrant visa. Those registering before October 15 will be cordially welcomed and no one will be penalized for entering or living in Canada illegally. All those who are eligible to apply and do not do so run the risk of being sought out and deported without right of appeal. As of August 15, immigration centres will be open from 8 a.m. to

8 p.m. Monday to Friday and from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Saturday, and on Monday October 15, 1973 until midnight.

This was "Operation My Country." Advertising campaigns were organized across the country. Immigration offices were set up even in shopping centres to allow all those concerned to register. On October 15, 1973, 49,416 persons had registered; of this number 22,918 cases were approved, 5,066 were accepted as immigrants, 26,498 cases were under study, and 19 were held over. As promised, no case was rejected.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Haitians who participated, in spite of the notable difference between the number of immigrants accepted between 1972 and 1973 (Table I).

However, a number of Haitians did not register; others arrived after November 30 and succeeded in passing immigration, having been told in Haiti that this would not be difficult, that they could lose themselves in the crowd of illegal aliens as in the United States. Why did they not register? Why did they continue entering Canada in spite of the existing prohibition? The answer to these questions is both simple and complex. There is no reason, strictly speaking. However, these Haitians as a group have shown certain emotions and feelings to be the basis of this foolhardy attitude. They did not live in the same city in Haiti, nor in the same house in Canada, yet they have displayed the same attitude: hide, don't trust the authorities. It is not by chance that they feel this way. These Haitians have confused authority with power. A fear of being betrayed has taught them to be mistrustful. In their country there have been few laws and those that did exist have always been broken or changed according to the whim or desires of isolated individuals. Finally, "Bon dié si bon" (God is so good), and things may in the long run turn out in their favour. They saw Operation My Country from the point of view of their own typically Haitian experience. They believed that the Canadian government was setting a trap for them and would send them back to Haiti if they presented themselves to immigration authorities. They had not the financial

means to pay for the return voyage nor to live and could not face the humiliation.

All this indicated a course of action quite illogical in a Canadian context. They chose, therefore, not to go to the immigration authorities and some managed to remain without being caught. Thus were formed the elements of what would be known as "The Haitian deportation". A widespread press campaign was set off, including TV, open line and other programs. The outstanding spokesman for the Haitians was the director of the Haitian Christian community of Montreal, Mr. Paul Déjean. He attempted to explain the attitude of the Haitians to the Canadian authorities and to the public in general, but neither understood the Haitians' behaviour. It appeared that only a modern Haitian could understand this type of behaviour. Between the sympathy felt by the Canadian public, the Quebec government, the opposition parties, and the empathy felt by the members of the Haitian Christian Community there was quite simply a world of difference.

Haitian political groups were organized in Montreal, an anti-deportation community was formed, and numerous humanitarian groups protested. The defense of the Haitians brought out the following points:

The Canadian government should consider the Haitian issue an exceptional one and deal with it in a humanitarian fashion.

Haitians are economic exiles: they have sacrificed everything to come to Canada.

Airline companies are accused of taking unfair advantage of the situation.

Haitians were not given information on Canadian immigration laws.

Petitions were published and street demonstrations were organized. Haitian political groups denounced repressive Haitian government policies before the Canadian public.

The Canadian Government, in view of the urgency of its own economic situation, decided to uphold this law which was necessary for the government given its new priority as regards immigration. The law could not be amended but at the same time could Canada enforce

the law rigorously and deport so many people? Authorities feared that persons returning to Haiti would be persecuted on arrival after having made certain statements which allowed them to stay in Canada. If the Canadian government softened its attitude towards this mass of Haitians, would this signify acceptance of a repressive Haitian government and besides, would not Canadian investments in Haiti be endangered as a result?

The Haitian consul in Montreal at the time attempted to intervene to guarantee the return of these Haitians and it was rumoured that he made a statement which cost him his job.

In summary, many Haitians were deported from Canada, others remain clandestinely and are, as a result, exploited. The war in Vietnam ended and the problem of Ugandans alleging persecution by Idi Amin and their reception in Canada replaced the Haitian issue in the Montreal press. No more was said of this unfinished story. In any case, the number of Haitians deported was estimated at about 1,500 although some estimates are higher.

In fact the number of Haitians qualifying as immigrants in Montreal coming directly from Haiti increased in 1973 by 232% over the preceding year (Table I). Haiti, with 936 and 884 immigrants to Quebec in 1971 and 1972, ranked seventh in number of immigrants and rose to third place in emigration to Quebec, led in 1974 and maintained the lead in 1975 and 1976.

Including those residing illegally, persons with special visas, and persons having entered during the first three quarters of 1977, the number of Haitians living in Canada can be estimated as about 23,000.

Although there has been much ado about the system of selecting immigrants because it is considered discriminatory with regard to citizens of underdeveloped countries wishing to immigrate to Canada, the case of immigrants of Haitian origin is special in this respect: a good portion of the educated 20%, as well as young people, leave the country (Table 10: No. of years of education, and Table 9: age groups.) Therefore, age, knowledge of French, and education have come into

play in their favour. Between 1968 and 1974, 11,286 Haitian immigrants entered Canada. According to the regulation admission category 64.81% were independent, 10.87% were designated, and 24.20% were sponsored. If the right of independent immigrants to bring children is considered, the situation would appear normal. However, for 1975 and 1976 sponsored immigrants took the lead, 53.71% and 65.9%, over independent immigrants, 24.83% and 21%. These figures can be further interpreted: Haitian couples rarely bring their children on the first trip, preferring to wait until they are settled before bringing them in. Children as a result wait two, and often three years before joining their parents.

Table 7
*Haitian refugees admitted
as immigrants*

1969	25
1970	2
1971	1
1972	—
1973	1
Total	20

Source: Department of Manpower
and Immigration, Ottawa,
Canada

Table 8
*Full-time students, 18 years
of age or over (immigrants)*

1971-72	368
1973	142
1974	253
1975	300
1976	249
Total	1,312

Source: Department of Manpower
and Immigration, Ottawa,
Canada

Table 9
Haitians immigrating directly from Haiti: Age groups

Year	0 to 9 yrs.	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60	Total
1973	122	137	1,321	455	82	36	25	2,178
1974	480	491	2,272	1,151	288	103	72	4,857
1975	601	542	1,312	630	139	81	126	3,431
1976	493	498	1,127	525	109	112	197	3,061
Total	1,696	1,668	6,032	2,761	618	332	420	13,527

Source: Govt. of Canada, Dept. of Immigration, annual statistics

Table 10*Haitian workers in Quebec: number of years of education*

Year	0 to 5 yrs.	8 to 10 yrs.	11 to 15 yrs.	16 yrs.+	Total workers
1973	48	609	985	121	1,763
1974	172	1,487	1,477	172	3,308
1975	86	832	729	94	1,741
1976	115	768	649	91	1,623
Total	421	3,696	3,840	478	8,435

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 11*Haitians in Quebec: intended occupational groups*

Year	Profes- sions	Businessmen Administrators Office workers Service employees	Construction Manufacturing Repairs Transport	Agriculture Hunting Mining	Others not listed
1973	248	558	934	1	22
1974	307	623	2,029	1	348
1975	223	425	1,012	6	75
1976	151	403	895	16	158
Total	929	2,009	4,870	24	603

Source: Govt. of Quebec, Dept. of Immigration

Table 11 CONT'D

Year	Total workers	Total in Quebec
1973	1,763	2,252
1974	3,308	4,853
1975	1,741	3,411
1976	1,623	3,073
Total	8,435	13,589

Table 12*Haitians immigrating directly from Haiti: occupation*

Year	Profes- sions	Businessmen Administrators Office workers Service employees	Construction Manufacturing Repairs Transport	Agriculture Hunting Mining	Others not listed
1967	124	50	18	0	0
1968	153	79	37	1	0
1969	217	109	42	1	2
1970	263	225	101	2	5
1971	212	284	231	1	5
1972	155	219	302	1	14
1973	204	553	939	1	21
1974	381	682	2,097	5	159
1975	220	419	1,024	8	76
1976	123	389	913	17	160
Total	2,052	3,009	5,667	37	442

Source: Govt. of Canada, Manpower and Immigration

Table 12 *CONT'D*

Year	Total workers	Unem- ployed	Grand total
1967	192	99	291
1968	270	174	444
1969	371	179	550
1970	596	244	840
1971	733	256	989
1972	691	245	936
1973	1,718	460	2,178
1974	3,324	1,533	4,857
1975	1,747	1,684	3,431
1976	1,602	1,459	3,061
Total	11,244	6,333	17,577

Table 13*Distribution of workers arriving from Haiti: intended occupation in percent*

Year	Professions	Office work Commerce Finance Services, etc.	Mechanical trades, Construction, repairs, Manufacturing	Others not listed	Total
1967	65	26	9	—	100
1968	57	29	14	—	100
1969	59	29	11	1	100
1970	44	38	17	1	100
1971	29	39	32	—	100
1972	22	32	44	2	100
1973	12	32	55	1	100
1974	11	21	63	5	100
1975	13	24	59	4	100
1976	8	24	57	11	100

Table 14*Eligibility for Canadian citizenship*

Year	Haiti country of birth	Haiti previous nationality	Men	Women
1964	18	16		
1965	13	14		
1966	22	18		
1967	45	44	26	18
1968	55	50	21	29
1969	56	55	29	26
1970	94	96	50	46
1971	98	96	38	58
1972	193	196	111	85
1973	326	331	178	153
1974	397	404	209	195
1975	657	666	337	329
1976	—	653	315	338
Total		2,639		

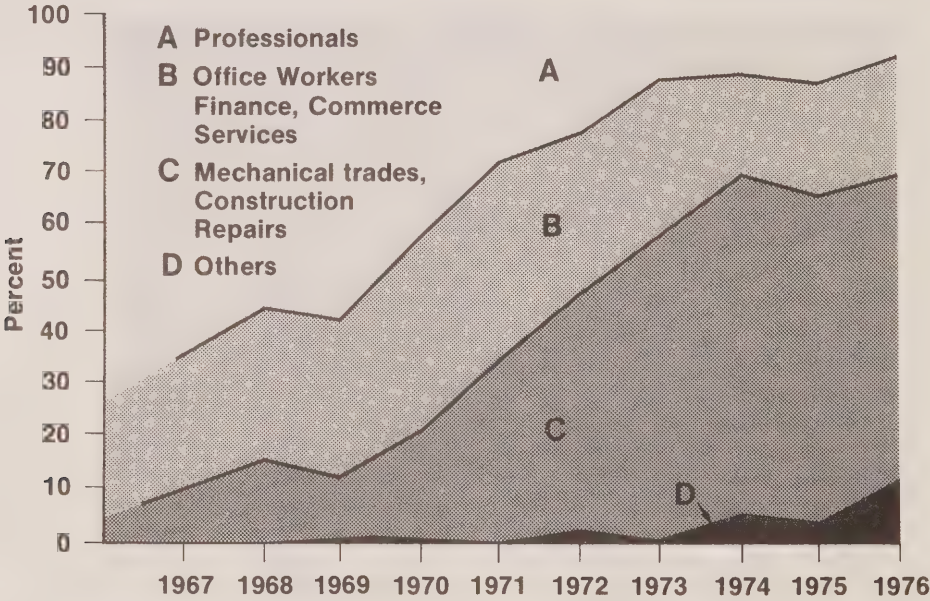
*Source: Annual catalogue, Citizenship Statistics, Ottawa. Twelve Haitians obtained Canadian citizenship in 1962, and eleven in 1963.

Table 15
*Haitians with Canadian citizenship and
Canadian-born spouses*

Year	Men	Women
1967	17	2
1968	11	5
1969	12	6
1970	9	10
1971	8	13
1972	19	11
1973	35	11
1974	33	15
1975	35	25
1976	30	12
Total	179	98

Source: Annual catalogue, Citizenship Statistics, Ottawa

Figure 2 (Ref. Table 13)
Workers coming directly from Haiti: Intended occupations



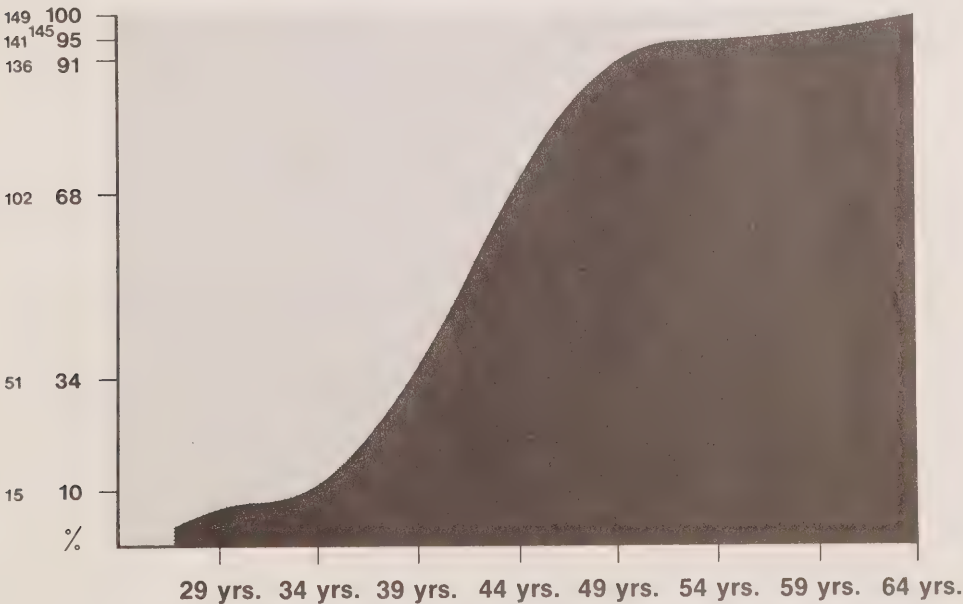
Haitian workers in Canada

Some figures and estimates

Professional occupations

- 1 Doctors: As of August 3, 1977 there were 149 Haitian doctors registered with the Corporation of Physicians of Quebec: 87 specialists, 50 general practitioners, and 12 residents.¹ Eleven interns were employed in Quebec hospitals as of July 1, 1977.² Added to this group there were four doctors of Haitian origin.³ Including those in Ontario and Manitoba, the number of Haitian doctors in Canada is estimated to be around 180. Considering those whose last birthday was in 1977, the average age is 42 years, with a standard deviation of 6.54, taking the age of the youngest to be 27 years and that of the oldest to be 64 years.⁴ There are an estimated 10 Haitian dentists in Canada.

Figure 3
Cumulated age frequencies (Ogive) Haitian doctors in the Province of Quebec



- 1 Data from the Corporation of Physicians and General Practitioners
- 2 Data from the Association of Haitian Doctors Abroad
- 3 Data from the Professional Corporation of Physicians and General Practitioners of Quebec
- 4 Calculated from other data (Figure 3)

- 2 Nurses: From 1970 to 1975, 79 nurses completed basic training in Haiti and were admitted to the Quebec Order of Nurses.¹ An estimated 150 Haitians studied nursing in Canada.
- 3 Lawyers: according to estimates, 5.
- 4 Social workers: about 20.
- 5 Laboratory technicians: about 30.
- 6 Teachers: These form the largest group among the occupations. Indeed, many Haitian university graduates have gone into teaching since they found it easier to take courses and teach in their particular discipline than to begin studying another profession. A large number of the estimated 500 are employed by the Quebec Department of Education.

About a thousand Haitians holding university degrees have not been able to find suitable employment and are dissatisfied with life in Canada.

Administrative occupations

Businessmen: Approximately four Haitians entered Canada intending to embark on investment projects. The minimum funds accompanying or following these businessmen was \$50,000.

There are at least 200 Haitians working as clerks, stenographers, secretaries and as other office employees.

Other occupations

Estimates put the number of Haitians working as domestics in Canadian and Haitian homes at about 300. There are about 125 Haitian taxi drivers in Montreal, about 50 Haitian women working as hotel housemaids, and approximately another 50 working in homes for the elderly. The majority of Haitian workers are employed in factories and mills.

1 Data from the Quebec Order of Nurses. Before 1970 they were classified as nurses having studied abroad. Data for 1976, not yet available.

PART 2

The process of adaptation

The traditional urban family in Haiti

A brief look at the traditional city home and family in Haiti will provide a better understanding of the Haitian lifestyle in Canada.

The majority of Haitian houses consist of a living room and a few other rooms. Due to the hot and largely unvaried climate, dinners are served on the veranda, a sort of long covered room, at the back or at the side of the house. The kitchen, showers, running water and toilets are located outside. Evenings are spent on a veranda in front of the house where daily visitors are also received. Children play outside or on the veranda. In brief, Haitians live out-of-doors.

Live-in help is employed by every family for the upkeep of the house and young people from the country are hired for odd jobs. These "maids" as they are called see to the general running of the house, cook, and take care of the children. Other families, larger or more well-off, pay a washerwoman to do the heavy laundry and bring it back the next week. Other families with very large houses or extensive grounds to care for employ a "house boy". These boys once a week do the heavy work such as cleaning the floors and washing the car. Having seen the children of the house being born, growing up and leaving home, these "domestics" often become part of the household. Due to the hot-house nature of the environment of the traditional urban Haitian family, boys and girls are sensitive to social problems, to crowds and the masses. Having been brought up to do light, domestic, or intellectual work, these adolescents have little initiative or autonomy.¹

The Haitian family as such is large, that is "a structured unit composed of at least two adults of both sexes (having socially approved sexual relations), children, close relatives, and relations by marriage who take part in the process of social interaction."² The main functional unit of the family is the "household" defined as a group of individuals living under the same roof, participating in similar activities and depending on the

1 De Ronceray, Hubert, "Le changement social dans les familles haitiennes: familles urbaines", in CHISS, *Revue Haitienne de Sciences sociales*, May 1969, No. 4, p. 7.

2 *Ibid.*

same resources for their survival. Members of the household may include godfathers, godmothers, godchildren, grandparents, relatives, as well as the father, the mother and the children. This unit serves the functions of supervision, biological reproduction, transmission of cultural, educational, social and religious values, economic support of the home, and the social identification of its members. The household tends to be matriarchal, due to the vague and evasive role of the male and to his lack of responsibility. The status of father and husband brings with it a certain degree of absenteeism which results in a strong maternal influence on the household.¹

The Haitian family structure is based on civil or religious marriage, common-law marriages or concubinage. In a religious or civil marriage a man and a woman formally swear before God and society to be faithful to one another but this is, in reality, a simple cover for polygamy. The most explicit and strict norm is the sexual fidelity of the wife to the husband. The father of the family, the husband, is the embodiment of strength and authority and reserves the right of absolute control over his wife and children. This strength is seen in the disciplined lifestyle and in the use of the whip. He is the master, he commands, he is served. Nevertheless, the woman has acquired a more important participatory role in family life over the past few years and has become more assertive.

Finding accommodation in Canada

Since Haitian immigration to Canada did not begin with the displacement of entire families, the problem of housing did not present itself during the first years. Moreover, the housing crisis in Canada had not yet begun. On arrival students had the recommendation of religious institutions which facilitated their acceptance into families or boarding houses. Young Haitian girls began their life in Canada as boarders in convents, paying a weekly boarding fee. Students also rented apartments in groups. The first Haitian families to settle in Canada were those to whom relative comfort was not something new.

On October 22, 1974, Robert Andras, in a speech in the

1 *Ibid.*

House of Commons, requested that the Canadian Government limit the increase of immigrants to Canada because of the lack of housing and job opportunities. Simultaneously, Haitians in Montreal complained of not being able to find accommodation due to the racist attitude of landlords and superintendents.

Racism, without doubt, can be said to have played a role in their housing problem. A closer examination of the situation revealed a number of other causes, real or possible. (a) The considerable effort at adaptation required by the Haitian changing from an outdoor to an indoor lifestyle in modern apartments requiring the constant upkeep of home appliances and bathrooms. The Haitian housewife must cope with children without the help of "servants", and with a husband who does nothing to help in this area. She does not succeed in mastering this new situation, and as a result is accused of being a poor housekeeper. (b) Another real cause is the tendency to reconstruct the household in which the Haitian lived in his homeland. He brings along his cousins, aunts, godmother and other relatives into tiny apartments, which soon become overpopulated. All this is a consequence of the Haitian family structure. (c) The eating habits of the Haitian make him a bad neighbour; the cooking odours from spicy, fatty foods find their way into adjacent apartments, much to the despair of the neighbours. They speak loudly and like to play music at very high volume. Wedding and christening receptions are held in the apartment. Haitians dance until late at night on weekends with friends. For a neighbour who wishes to rest after a difficult week the racket is unbearable.

Eating habits

The Haitian modifies his diet little or not at all despite the fundamental difference in climate with which he must contend. Rice is the staple of his diet and he does not like to keep food in the refrigerator once cooked, preferring to prepare fresh meals every day. He prefers to walk to the St. Laurent market no matter how far from his home, to buy a chicken freshly killed in front of him rather than buying it already packaged in a supermarket. "Banane p  s  " (sauteed plantains), "grio" (a spiced pork dish) and "lambi" (a shellfish dish) are specialties prepared at all Haitian parties in Canada,

foods which would be considered usual fare in Haiti. These foods have come to symbolize the informal encounter between Haitians in Canada. The Haitian does not generally like raw vegetables. While cooking methods are more efficient, meals still take some time to arrive at the table. In areas of Montreal with a concentration of Haitians, food stores are stocked with eggplant, mirlitons (a pear-shaped squash), coconuts, green bananas, salt cod, sweet potatoes, dried beans, corn flour and gourds. The proportion of meat in the diet is negligible, making it a diet highly deficient in protein which is essential because of the amount of energy expended in factory and other work. The resulting health risks are revealed by a report of the Haitian community clinic showing traces of pulmonary tuberculosis in a significant percentage of Haitians who have lived for several years in Canada.

Married life

Often if one member of a couple emigrates before the other, usually arriving as a visitor, it will be some time before they are reunited. The couple finds then that their relationship has changed. The woman's role has altered by the fact that she must enter the labour market immediately upon arrival, thus enabling her to take more initiative. Occasionally she is the only one working while her husband remains idle. He finds it difficult to accept this change of situation and role. He feels castrated. The result is marital conflict, since having to face the same partner who once played only a secondary role is quite unacceptable.

Employment

From 7,000 personnel files arranged in alphabetical order at the offices of the Haitian Christian community of Montreal, one out of every 70 was chosen at random.¹ These 100 samples indicate that 90% of these people arrived in or after 1972 and that 64% work in manufacturing.

Working conditions

In Haiti one is fortunate to find employment as not everyone leaves their house every morning to go to work. A large part of the labour force is unemployed. Salaries do not increase in relation to higher living

¹ To guarantee confidentiality, samples were chosen by Mr. Déjean, who has sole access to these files.

costs. At one point even civil servants went several months without pay. When a worker dies others come in droves to replace him. On the other hand, depredation is so common that one could say that corruption is built into the system. For this reason, Haitian workers for the most part do not succeed in understanding a system in which the worker is regularly paid, receives regular pay increases, may change jobs if not satisfied and has the right to strike. They feel that Canadians are privileged and that they, the Haitians, should be able to get along with what is given them. These often become unconscious factors in preventing Haitians from sympathizing with the grievances of Canadian workers. They accept readily that which is rejected by others. Furthermore, if vacations are not compulsory they will not take them since they do not consider them necessary.

Leisure activities

Dancing on Saturday night and soccer during the summer are the two main forms of leisure activity. The Haitian often drops in to see his friends unannounced and is always welcome. Not only does he not engage in winter sports but frowns upon any friend who tries, seeing this as a step towards integration which he conscientiously rejects. During the winter he plays music in his apartment, watches television and, being used to a life out-of-doors, is bored. He also communicates this dislike of winter to his child, with a negative result, since the child must spend most of his youth and perhaps his whole life in a cold climate.

Verbal communication

Verbal communication is of prime importance in Canada. When seeking employment, an interview is required, when ill, symptoms must be explained to the doctor. The majority of Haitians, while they write well in French, do not speak fluently and while their comprehension is good, their speaking facility remains mediocre. Others understand only a few rudiments of the language in current usage. In reality, few Haitians speak French fluently, Creole being the commonly used language. Ability to speak French well brings with it a certain prestige. A Haitian will feel at a loss when speaking to someone who uses the language in a manner beyond his comprehension. As a consequence, feelings of inferiority result, a fact which he refuses to

admit. The public services of the welcoming country feel the effects greatly, the health services in particular. Doctors and nurses have always had to use interpreters. Some nurses complain of being rejected by ill persons who have reacted badly to their use.

The Haitian pupil and the Canadian school

A child psychiatrist of Haitian origin, having studied the problem of Haitian children, feels that they do not pose a particular problem in relation to the entire observed population. The child problem, in his opinion, is only a reflection of the parent problem. A child's behaviour will change to the degree that the parents are marginal to the rest of society. A study of the Catholic School Commission of Montreal reveals that out of 1,800 students, 56% are behind by one year, and 27% by more than a year, for a total of 83%.¹ At the same time, the principal of a private school, l'Ecole Pasteur, 30% of whose students are Haitian, has observed no problems of any kind in the diversified student body. Another private school, l'Ecole Ste-Rita, 20% of whose pupils are Haitian, has observed no problems. This is a small school and its pupils come from families from a high socio-economic bracket. How should these facts be interpreted? Is it a social class problem, undeniable in Haiti with its hierarchical social structure? Is it a problem of ability to adapt which varies from class to class? Is it a problem of different educational systems, of differences in the private and public school setting; private Quebec schools being more traditional and therefore resembling Haitian schools more closely? Is it a problem of the different Canadian and Haitian conceptions of school promotion, promotion in Canada being more flexible: a child is expected to keep up with his age group and does not remain long in a lower grade whereas in Haiti, promotion is very strict. Thus, certain Haitian pupils who enter Canada are automatically put in with their own age groups while in Haiti, they were left at lower levels. Are there problems of priorities in scientific subjects and oral expression in Canada which are contrary to the Haitian school system? Are there problems of parents who are more concerned with a child's life in a private school than in a public school? A special study on the situation of

1 Haitian pupils of the CSCM, CSCM study

Haitian literature

students of the Catholic School Commission of Montreal should be carried out in order to throw some light on these problems for the good and the future of the Haitian community in Canada.

In relation to the number of Haitians emigrating to Canada, their contribution in the field of letters (journalism, magazine articles, literary works) is of some importance. Haiti is their main inspiration and is the subject of most of their works. As to literary forms, poetry is the most predominant.

The following is a list of some of the works written by Haitians and published in Canada.

Adam, Michel, *Vers de Terre*, (Collection of poems), Montreal dérivés, 1975.

Anglade, Georges, *L'Espace Haitien*, Quebec University Press, 1974 (geography).

Anglade, Georges, *Geography and its teaching*, Quebec University Press, 1976.

Antoine, Yves, *Les sabots de la nuit*, (poetry), Gasparo 1974.

Antoine, Yves, *Alliage*, Montreal, Quebec, 1977 (poetry).

Bélance, René, *Coucou-Rouge*, Nouvelle Optique, Montreal, 1971 (poetry).

Castera, George Jr., *Konbèlann*, (creole poems), Montreal, Nouvelle Optique, 1974.

Castor, Suzie, *The American occupation of Haiti 1915-1934*, Nouvelle Optique, Montreal. (History).

Cham, Serge, *Plaidoirie pour les hommes* (poetry) Ottawa, 1974.

Dépêtre, René, *Pour la révolution, pour la poésie* (essay). Leméac, Collection francophonie vivante, 1974.

Dépêtre, René, *Alleluia, Pour une femme-jardin* (short story) Léméac, Montreal, 1973.

Devieux, Dehoux, *L'amour oui, la mort non*, (novel) Naaman, 1976.

Douyon, Emerson, (under the direction of) *Culture and Development in Haiti*, Léméac, Collection Caraïbes, 1972 (Political sociology).

Etienne, Gérard, *Dialogue avec mon ombre* (*Dialogue with my shadow*), (poetry). Editions francophones du Canada, 1972.

Etienne, Gérard, *Lettre à Montréal*, Edition Estérel, 1966, Montreal.

Etienne, Gérard, *Le nègre crucifié* (*The crucified negro*). Editions francophones et Nouvelle Optique, 1976.

Fouché, Frank, *Vodou et Théâtre, Pour un nouveau théâtre populaire* (*Voodoo and Theatre, towards a new form of popular theatre*), (essay) Edition Nouvelle Optique, 1976.

Fouché, Frank, *Bouqui au Paradis* (play), Léméac, Montreal, 1968.

Fouché, Frank, *Trou de Dieu* (play), Montreal, Léméac, 1968.

Fouché, Frank, *Général Baron Lacroix ou le silence masqué* (play), Léméac, Montreal, 1974.

Gouraige, Ghislain, *La Diaspora d'Haiti et l'Afrique* (sociology), Sherbrooke, Naaman, 1974.

Jacques, Maurice, *Le miroir* (*The mirror*) (poems) Sherbrooke, Naaman, 1977.

Jean Rodrigue, *Classes sociales et sous-développement en Haiti*, (*Social classes and underdevelopment in Haiti*) (political sociology) Editions québécoises, 1974.

Laenec-Hurbon, *Dieu dans le vodou haitien*, (*God in Haitian voodoo*), Léméac, Montreal.

Laraque, Paul, *Ce qui demeure*, (poetry), Nouvelle Optique, Montreal, 1973.

Laroche, Maximilien, *Haiti et sa littérature*, (*Haiti and its literature*). Cahiers Ste-Marie, Montreal, 1963.

Laroche, Maximilien, *L'Haitien* (*The Haitien*), Cahiers Ste-Marie, 1968, Montreal.

Laroche, Maximilien, *Le miracle et la métamorphose* (*Miracle and Metamorphoses*), Editions du Jour, 1970.

Legagneur, Serge, *Textes interdits* (*Forbidden Texts*), Edition Estérel, 1966.

Leroy, Morisseau, *Diaconte II* (poetry), Montreal, Nouvelle Optique.

Louis-Jean, Antonio, *La crise de possession et la possession dramatique*, Léméac, Quebec 1970.

Luc, Jean, *Structures économiques et lutte nationale populaire en Haiti (Economic structures and the National popular struggle in Haiti)* (political economy), Nouvelle Optique, Montreal, 1976.

Magloire, Hébert, Cahiers No. 1, Actualité de Jacques Roumain, *le Christ noir*, Montreal, 1975.

Magloire, Hébert, Cahiers No. 2, *Sur les bords du St-Laurent*, (Notebooks No. 2, *On the Banks of the St. Lawrence*), 1976.

Magloire, Hébert, Cahiers No. 3, *Gerbes dorées de la Négritude et de la francophonie*.

Magloire, Hébert, Cahiers No. 4, *Les univers cotéiformes du jeu littéraire*.

Manigat, Charles, Moïse, Claude; Ollivier, Emile; *Haiti, quel développement? (Haiti, how will it develop?)* (political economy) Collectif Paroles, Montreal, 1975.

Morse, Claude; Hector, Cary; Ollivier Emile (under the direction of) *Trente ans de pouvoir noir en Haiti, 1946-1976, (Thirty years of black power in Haiti)* Vol. 1 (political history), Collectif Paroles, 1975.

Ollivier, Emile, *Paysage de l'aveugle (Blindman's landscape)* (novel) Pierre Tisseyre, Montreal, 1977.

Pereira, Roger, *Les galops de Dune* (poetry), Naaman, Sherbrooke, 1976.

Phelps, Anthony, *Et moi, je suis une île (As for myself, I am an island)* (Collection of stories) Léméac, 1973.

Phelps, Anthony, *Mémoires en Collin Maillard*, Nouvelle Optique, 1976. (novel).

Phelps, Anthony, *Points cardinaux (Cardinal points)* (poetry), Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, Montreal, 1967.

Phelps, Anthony, *Le Conditionnel (The Conditional)* (play), Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, Montreal, 1970.

Pierre, Claude, *Coucou-Rouge*, Studio Abeille, Québec, 1973. (poetry).

Pierre, Claude, *Tourne ma toupie (Spin my top)* Naaman, Sherbrooke, 1974.

Pierre Charles, Gérard, *Radiographie d'une dictature, (x-ray of a dictatorship)* Edition Nouvelle Optique, Montreal, 1973.

Price-Mars, Jean, *Ainsi parla l'oncle (Thus spoke the uncle)* Réédition Léméac, Montréal, 1973.

Rock, Gesner, *Haiti, tournant après Duvalier*. Edition Jean-Jacques Accaau, Montreal, 1968.

St-Louis, René, *La présociologie haitienne ou Haiti et sa vocation nationale*, Léméac, Québec, 1970.

Film

Documentaries: *Haiti, J'accuse*, Produced by l'Office de Radio-télévision du Québec, (O.R.T.Q., researched by: Chancy, Max, 1975. 1 hour, 30 minutes).

Life in Canada

The Haitian, in certain respects, maintains the same style and standard of living in Canada as in Haiti, bringing with him attitudes, good or bad, which he developed in his homeland. His life in Canada is an insecure and isolated one, the result of being a victim of discrimination on the part of other ethnic groups who feel he is stealing jobs. He is not informed as to what goes on in his environment. He is as ignorant of his rights as of his duties. He feels insecure. His life is still oriented towards the satisfaction of basic needs such as food, lodging and work. He does not yet feel at home in Canada. Moreover, the Haitian living in Canada is trying at the same time to provide for the needs of those members of a large family remaining in Haiti. His responsibilities are great since it is always the "poto mitan", the more resourceful, more educated and more capable member of the family, who leaves the country. Each Haitian worker in Canada supports at least three persons in Haiti. Very old relatives must receive his help or simply die, since pensions (old-age allowances) are provided for only a very few categories of workers. For this reason, organizations were set up in Montreal for the transfer of funds.

His conception of a citizen does not exclude illegality. Confronted with a consumer society he is easily

trapped by finance companies who lure him into thinking he has unlimited credit. He has not yet understood the concept of money and spending in a consumer society. The financial implications of his actions have not yet become part of his world. He will, for example, telephone Haiti at the least provocation in order to assuage any worries he may have and to find out if everyone is well. The bill is always a surprise for him.

Haitian society which has until very recently been a closed one, imposed its traditional values. In Canada society is more permissive, people are strangers to one another and values have for some time been in question. The effect of this is to further confuse the Haitian who will apparently reject old values for the new values of the host country. Due to the more relaxed values of the welcoming country, the Haitian challenges the traditional in one particular area of human relations: taboos related to sexual activity are forgotten to such an extreme that sex becomes a sport. Thus Haitian girls who have not rejected traditional values upon entering Canada are ridiculed and teased by their masculine compatriots who treat them, much to their despair, as "backward". A compromise between North American and Haitian values has yet to be found by either sex. Much awkwardness and stumbling accompanies this people in the search for identity in their new country.

Integration

The youth of the Haitian immigrant population in Canada will not hear of a process of integration. Haitians are still in the stage of adaptation in Canada. However, some observations can be noted:

Whatever its socio-economic status, the Haitian group is marginal compared to that of other ethnic groups living in Canada.

Objective realities and conditions of the country of origin as opposed to the welcoming country — such as a very underdeveloped country versus a developed country, a tropical climate versus a temperate climate, a country of black race versus a country of white race, or a Haitian culture versus a Canadian culture — make the Haitian people basically different from Canadians. Adaptation consequently is relatively slow, due to the

slow deculturalization process and the equally slow process of acculturalization. Rare are the Haitians who do not express some desire to return home. Nostalgia still exists. Haitian children born in Canada are not yet 13 years old and perspective is lacking for observing the orientation of the younger generation. Mixed marriages (Haitians and Canadians) were proportionally more numerous at the start of the immigrant influx than today. The result, in the majority of these marriages, has been either to tear the Haitian partner away from his or her home or to "Haitianize" the Canadian partner, a phenomenon which cannot be considered as an example of integration for only in remaining oneself can one contribute to the enrichment of others.

This immigration has undeniably contributed to society a young work force and persons eager to develop and give the best of themselves. Other contributions cannot be determined as yet with any precision.

PART 3

Haitian organizations in Canada

The following organizations can be listed according to their objectives:

Community organizations
Political organizations
Professional organizations
Others

The Haitian Christian Community of Montreal

This organization, which concerns a specific group, was set up in 1968 under the archdiocese of Montreal. It is not a parish and is not limited to a particular neighbourhood. It organizes masses for the Haitian community of Montreal, takes charge of marriage ceremonies and other activities involving social intercourse amongst Haitians.

The office of the Haitian Christian Community of Montreal

This office opened November 12, 1972, in response to difficulties created by the bill announced by Bryce Mackasey November 3, 1972. It is a non-profit organization with the following objectives:

- 1 To provide Haitians, upon arrival in Montreal, with information and assistance.
- 2 To assist new arrivals in obtaining practical information on life in Montreal (use of transportation services, rentals, shopping).
- 3 To provide guidance and counselling in dealings with different government organizations.
- 4 To discuss with new arrivals their socio-economic problems and help them find a solution; for example looking for jobs. To assist them in understanding their position vis-à-vis certain economic transactions (rent, salary, child education, taxes) and in claiming their rights.
- 5 To facilitate contact among Haitians in order to break their isolation and lessen their mistrust of one another.
- 6 To develop among Haitians a spirit of community and mutual assistance by rousing their interest in popular Haitian culture, and by stimulating them to thoroughly study their cultural heritage in various ways which will enable them to become acquainted as well with the cultural riches of Canada and its diverse ethnic groups.
- 7 To develop, at every opportunity, among Haitians their consciousness as citizens of a free world, fully aware of their rights and duties. To develop also

their sense of responsibility towards the Haitian community in Haiti and abroad, as well as towards various communities in Canada.¹

Since its creation in 1972, the office of the Haitian Christian Community of Montreal has made progress. Its first concrete achievements were in assisting Haitians in difficulty, and in the role of spokesman in their relations with government organizations. Among other accomplishments are:

- A cultural theatre company: "Mapou Guinin".

- A day-care centre.

- The beginnings of a food co-operative.

- A program for elderly persons.

- A karate school.

- An adult refresher course which is actually a literacy course preparing them for adult education courses at the Catholic School Commission of Montreal.

- An action program to assist couples having difficulties in adapting.

Two projects are in the development stage:

- A documentation centre.

- A news program for Haitians on community television Channel 9 NC in Montreal.

Haiti House

Founded in 1972 by a group of young Haitians to solve problems arising from the passing of Bill C-197, November 3, 1972.

Its objectives are:

- To promote cultural development and the sense of social responsibility.

- To maintain Haitian ethnocultural values.

- To ensure adaptation to the Quebec and Canadian society and the defense of immigrant rights.

- To provide general social services, health and education services, etc.

- To provide an informal gathering place for leisure activities and social intercourse.²

Since its establishment, Haiti House has offered the following services to Haitians:

1 Charter of the Haitian Christian Community of Montreal

2 Haiti House Newsletter

Assistance to Haitians experiencing immigration difficulties by providing counsellors for immigration and at the court of appeal.

Assistance to workers looking for jobs.

Offers medical aid by referring Haitians to Haitian doctors for free medical care.

Help to persons having problems with material necessities.

Offers a basic reading and writing course.

Organizes recreational activities.

Every Sunday evening from 7 to 8 o'clock, the voice of Haiti broadcasts news, variety programs and music.

Publishing of a monthly newsletter.

However, Haiti House has been experiencing serious financial difficulties and, functioning for some time with the help of volunteers, its efficiency has greatly diminished.

The Haiti-Quebec Brotherhood Movement

The Haiti-Quebec Brotherhood Movement was created in May 1975. By bringing Haitians and Quebecers together, it aims to facilitate the adaptation of Haitians to the environment through information and to achieve a better understanding between the two groups. It is active in many areas: supplying newly arrived Haitians with winter clothing, assistance to Haitian fire victims, organization of cultural activities with the participation of Haitian and Quebec artists. It aims also at solving the adaptation problems of Haitian students of the Catholic School Commission of Montreal and of the Jérôme LeRoy School Commission. A day-care centre will be open to Haitians and Quebecers in St. Michel County.¹

Haitian Community Clinic

Set up by Haiti House, the Haitian Community Clinic opened in March 1976, to care for the needs of Haitian workers in Montreal. It is open to all but used primarily by Haitians. It receives most of its patients at night. The community clinic differs in its approach from other clinics serving Haitians in Montreal. In one year of service, the clinic was able to outline the health and social problems of the community as well as solve many communication problems. Many Haitians would

1 Source: founding member of the Haiti-Quebec Brotherhood Movement

go to Haiti to be treated because of their inability to explain their problems to Canadian doctors. According to the clinic, the Haitian patient requires person-to-person attention as well as diagnosis and therapy. An important objective of the clinic is to provide medical information which is lacking to most people. An educational program adapted to the needs of the Haitian community was, therefore, set up. The clinic's experience showed that illnesses are related to living conditions in the community and to diseases which Haitians already had when entering Canada from Haiti.¹ Haitian patients without health insurance are treated free of charge at the clinic. The clinic is experiencing severe financial difficulties such as lack of equipment and subsidies. However, the services of the clinic have proven invaluable.

Haitian political organizations in Canada

About 50 such organizations exist, generally opposed to the Haitian political regime. Their role is to make Haitians aware of the real reasons why they are in Canada, to prevent them from forgetting their homeland, and to denounce the policy and acts of the government in Haiti. In Canada they assist in resolving particular problems such as the defense of the rights of Haitian immigrants. Keeping an eye on events in the community, they help Haitians to be psychologically prepared to return home at an opportune moment.

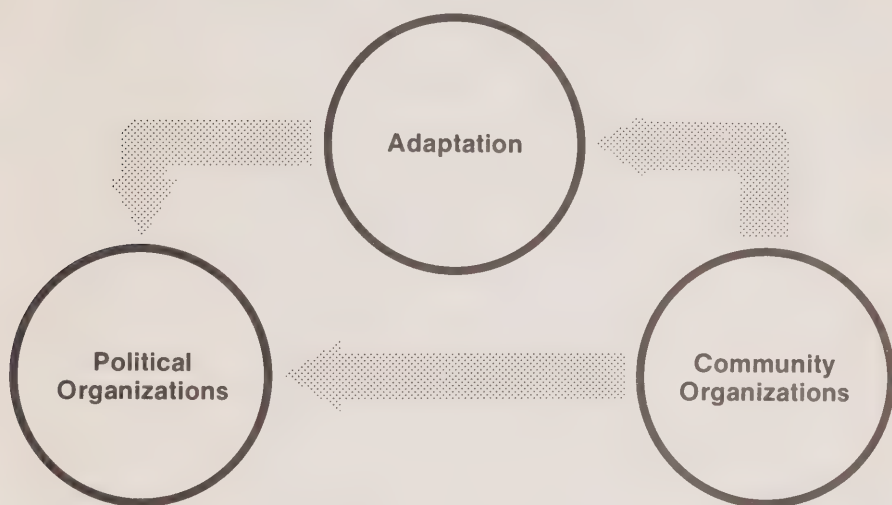
After several months in Canada Haitians are generally more aware of the situation in their homeland due to a basic comparison with the welcoming country. Political organizations, however, are so numerous and so active that their work in this direction must be considered important. The latest manifestation of their presence to date was the countercelebration of the twentieth anniversary of the reign of the Duvalier family in Haiti, on September 22, 1977. Demonstrations and publicity campaigns were organized and took place over a full week, with important Haitian participation.

A comparison between Haitian political and community organizations reveals the following:

1 Information from the balance-sheet of the first year of operation of the Haitian Community Clinic.

Figure 4

Relationship between Haitian political and community organizations in Canada



When the phenomenon of adaptation is taken as the centre of a system, community organizations play a centripetal role and political organizations play a centrifugal role (Figure 4).

One of the reasons for the slow adaptation of Haitians in Canada is the powerful role played by these political organizations. But when the Haitian reality in Canada is considered, community organizations tend to destroy the political because they are more concrete and respond to real and immediate needs. Political organizations function on a higher intellectual but secondary level when face-to-face with real community needs.

Association of Haitian Doctors Abroad

(Montreal Chapter)

This is a professional association grouping together all Haitian doctors and dentists living outside Haiti. Each large city in North America where there are a large number of Haitian doctors has a chapter.

A non-political association, its objectives are:

To strengthen ties between Haitian doctors.

To assist the Haitian doctor in a foreign country in organizing his professional and social life.

To encourage the Haitian doctor to respond to the medical needs of the local Haitian community.

To develop exchange programs between the Faculty of Medicine and the medical body in Haiti.

To allow the Haitian population to benefit from the experience acquired by their compatriots abroad.

In its five years of existence, the Association of Haitian Doctors Abroad has partially achieved its two first objectives. It has organized courses for new arrivals who have not passed an examination allowing them to work in Canadian hospitals. It has approached the Quebec Department of Social Affairs and taken the steps necessary to help new arrivals find positions in hospitals. It has helped in, and supported the creation of, the Haitian Community Clinic. While the Association has not yet found the means to achieve its other goals, it has grown with time and, having much to offer, hopes to achieve its objectives in a reasonably short time.

Haiti-Canada Association

This is a non-profit organization founded in Ottawa in 1974. The general goals of this association are to promote Haitian-Canadian friendship and direct it towards the well-being of underprivileged communities in Haiti. To this end, the Association has undertaken a pilot project and the future of the organization depends on its success or failure. A hospital-dispensary was set up in Bainet (Haiti) serving surrounding rural areas. The Association functions with the help of contributions from its members, personal gifts and two full-time committees: a leisure activities committee and a medical assistance committee, and in Haiti, a committee formed of important persons from the region of Bainet and two volunteer Canadian nuns. Income from organized activities pay for the cost of shipping materials to Haiti and air freight. The Association has installed a pump for drinking water in a region whose population makes full use of this facility. Members of the Association already consider the Bainet project a success and feel that the Association is moving ahead and will have a successful future.

Carifesta Canada — Caraibéen

Carifesta Canada — Caraibéen is a non-profit organization. It was founded in 1976 and has a membership of Haitians and Québécois. The goal of this organization is to facilitate the integration of Haitians in Québécois society through the organization of sociocultural activities such as literary contests, the promotion of drawing and the visual arts at the level of youths and adolescents of various cultural backgrounds, by the presentation of the cuisine of the countries of origin of the various ethnic groups, by the organization of festivals and carnivals, and by cooperating with the various organizations and associations that are concerned with the adaptation of ethnocultural groups within Québécois society.

During 1977, Carifesta Canada-Caraibéen organized an art contest on the theme "friendship among peoples" in the Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé and Ste-Cécile de Montréal schools. The prizes awarded amounted to a total of \$690.00. This contest was sponsored by the Fédération des groupes ethniques du Québec to which the Carifesta Canada-Caraibéen is affiliated.

In addition to the art contest, this society organized on June 28, 29 and 30, 1977 in collaboration with the Service de l'animation de la Place Desjardins in Montreal, a demonstration of the Haitians culinary specialties.

Société Toussaint- Louverture

The Société Toussaint-Louverture was founded in 1975. The objectives of this society are as follows:

- To inform the Québécois in particular and Canadian society in general of Haitian culture.

- To represent the interests of Haitians within the Fédération des groupes ethniques du Québec.

- Sponsor activities such as courses, meetings, conferences, study sessions, gatherings, concerts, expositions.

- Aid Haitians to integrate into Québécois and Canadian society.

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